5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FL6 Dorobo FL6

the other world, and atonement is effected by ritual methods. The primary sanctions against such acts are upheld by the force of public opinion which is based on the fear of loss of well-being through offending the spirits, behind whom are the ultimate powers of nature expressed in the concept of *Asis*.

But these ultimate powers cannot be reached by man, who can neither see nor understand them, and people like the Dorobo (and indeed many African peoples) must therefore have some kind of intermediary. First come the *cesowiloi*, the spirits of the dead, to whom each man addresses his own prayers, and with whom there is a private relationship based on the fact that the spirits were once human beings themselves. Then protection is looked for through the use of tangible material objects in the form of amulets, such as the *lepuywet* against the evil eye, *rerendet* against rheumatism, and perhaps the double spiral ear-rings occasionally worn, although the significance of the last among the Dorobo is not known. These are material intermediaries in that they act between man and the unseen as protectors.

Formalized religion. The notion of a spiritual being which dwells in the Kiet or 'universe' is crystallized in the word *Asis(la)*, borrowed from the Nandi with perhaps some of the Nandi notions of its nature. He is identified with the sun, and prayers are made to him for success, and sometimes to his mother (or sister, for the accounts vary) *Arawa* the moon as well. This is the extent of the formal part *Asis* plays in Dorobo religious life, but he none the less performs the necessary function of being a recognized object to which men can turn, especially in thought, for restoration of confidence, which is no doubt one of the primary functions of the formalized concept of a major spiritual being, who provides people with an entity that they may look to for help and protection.

The belief in the existence of spirits is much more concrete, and more practical, for one section of the spirits were once men themselves and are therefore much nearer to men than *Asis* and well fitted to stand between men and the unseen world as mediators. The evil spirits are merely harmful or irritating according as the whim takes them, but they seem to play a relatively unimportant part in the religious life of the Dorobo, however much trouble and discomfort they may cause. They are just things that must be endured. A statement made by a Dorobo that the *musambuanik*, the evil spirits, are the same as the *oiik* or good spirits, is to be explained by the belief that even the good spirits can be malevolent at times, for malevolence is more noticed than benevolence, and it is necessary to maintain proper ritual relations with them to prevent malevolence. But unlike the evil spirits the *oiik* have a definite home somewhere under the earth, whence they return to visit and take care of the living, in whom they take an interest, and the part taken by the *oiik* in Dorobo life may in fact be summarized thus: (a) they can provide or withhold food; (b) they can cause illness if angered; (c) they can desert a man and so spoil his luck and neutralize his skill; (d) they are at the back of the legal sanctions as intermediaries between man and the ultimate spiritual power that controls the universe.

he found hunting on his area, though he would be liable to pay blood-cattle for homicide.

As for trapping, it is said that nobody steals meat from traps because their bellies would swell to a great size if they ate stolen meat. Public opinion, too, is strongly against such a mean crime, and is of itself a powerful deterrent. Nowadays trapping is the chief source of meat, and the common practice is for a man to set three or four traps at a time in different places, and to visit them every two days or so to see if anything has been caught.

Monkeys and buck[1] are killed for their meat and skins; pig provide meat and gut for bow-strings.

2. Agriculture.[2]

The Dorobo are in process of changing from a hunting to an agricultural existence, from the uncertain hunting economy to the more certain one of agriculture; and the same economic pressure which has forced them to till the soil is now encouraging a desire for cattle, which are being slowly and laboriously acquired. This leads in turn to a more self-supporting state, with less dependence on the Nandi for grain crops; and agricultural techniques, both in tillage and stock, are being learnt from the Nandi and from Europeans.

Both sexes work in the cultivated plots (*imbaret*), and are helped by children, who weed the crops, herd the stock, and milk the cows. The crops grown at present are eleusine (*eleusine coracana*, called *wimbi* in Swahili) and maize; millet and tobacco are still bought from the Nandi, from whom the Dorobo also get eleusine and maize seed when necessary. Unlike the distribution of the forest into hunting areas, people cultivate the ground close to their own homes, and a group

[1] The buck killed are:
Kipsekei, blue duiker (cehpalophus aequatorialis).
Mindet, red duiker (c. igna-issaci.)
Keremaiit, bush buck (tragelaphus scriptus.)
Irukutet, reed-buck
Kenyelet, oribi
Kipsomeret, water-buck (cobus ellipsiprymnus).

[2] I prefer the term 'agriculture' to 'horticulture,' for the latter implies mere cultivation, with no livestock, and in East Africa agriculture is almost always practised in conjunction with stock-rearing, even if only on a small scale.